

Ethnology of Easter Island

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INTRODUCTION

Most of the material published in this monograph is the result of field work that I carried out as a member of the Franco-Belgian Expedition to Easter Island (1934-1935). First plans for this Expedition were conceived by the Institut d'Ethnologie de l'Université de Paris and by the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle in Paris. The Belgian Government and scientific institutions gave their support to this enterprise which became a joint undertaking by the two countries. The Expedition was originally composed of Mr. Charles-Louis Watelin, French archaeologist, Dr. Henri Lavachery, Conservateur aux Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Dr. Israel Drapkin, Chilean physician, and me. Mr. Watelin died at sea in the Patagonian channels on the way to Easter Island.

The French Navy transported the members of the Expedition to Easter Island aboard the man-of-war *Rigault-de-Genouilly* which was then making a cruise from France to Indo-China. We returned to France aboard the Belgian training ship *Mercator*. The writing of this volume was made possible through a Bishop Museum Fellowship that enabled me to come to Honolulu and to work up my material at Bishop Museum.

Conditions for anthropological research on Easter Island are especially distressing. I know of few places in the Pacific where so little remains of the ancient culture. The rare traditions that linger in the memory of a small group of natives have been recorded over and over again by visitors to the island. The present population of 456 natives is entirely derived from the 111 natives left after the abandonment of the island by the French missionaries in 1872. This single fact shows how little chance exists for the preservation of old traditions. Viriamo, the mother of my informant Tepano, is the only living person who witnessed the functioning of the ancient culture. As she is over 100 years old and her memory is uncertain, she was of little help in my inquiries.

My chief informant was Juan Tepano who, although about 60 years of age, is the oldest man on the island. He speaks fluent Spanish, having spent seven years in Chile. He was Mrs. Routledge's interpreter and has retained from that contact a keen interest in the past. He is intelligent, quick, and proud of his reputation as the *maori* in the old folklore. When other natives are asked about their ancestors they always refer to Juan Tepano. The information that I received from others was generally attributed to him. If Tepano reads these

[p. 3]

[p. 142 have no textual material]

115 lines I hope that he finds here the expression of my gratitude for the enthusiasm with which he imparted to me the sum of his knowledge. In collaborating so completely, he showed much generosity since he was convinced that any bit of information about the past of Easter Island was worth a fortune.

I owe much to Victoria Rapahango, one of the last descendants of the king's family, who checked all my notes and helped me in the reconstruction of ancient techniques. She is perhaps the last person who perpetuates on Easter Island the traditions of nobility and culture of the old Polynesian aristocracy.

114 The archaeological investigation of the island was undertaken by Dr. Lavachery, who will publish separately the results of his survey of the north coast. Our joint work was carried on in a spirit of harmony that is one of my most pleasant memories of the Expedition. Dr. Drapkin, who was delegated by the Chilean Government to study the problem of leprosy on the island, willingly collaborated with us. He made most of the natural history collections for the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Paris, studied the demography and the blood groups of the natives, and generously gave medical assistance to the natives.

123 Throughout my stay, from July 1934 to the beginning of January 1935, I tried to live with the natives as intimately as possible. I doubt that a longer visit would have added much to my material. However, I regret that I did not have sufficient time to study the acculturation problems, which I hope will be the aim of a future expedition. Likewise the time was too short to complete a detailed survey of the archaeology of the island. It would be desirable for a group of trained archaeologists to devote an entire year to making plans of the innumerable ruins scattered throughout the island. No new information could be expected from such a survey, but the ruins are unprotected and constantly threatened with destruction by the natives or careless visitors.

127 The published literature on Easter Island is considerable. Most of it has been listed in the excellent catalog of Father Martin Gusinde. I have consulted all the publications mentioned in it and others that have appeared since 1922. I am convinced that no important source has escaped my attention and that the reader will find in this book all the available documentation on the island.

114 A few days after we left Easter Island, it was visited by the Templeton Crocker Expedition. Dr. H. L. Shapiro, Anthropologist of the American Museum of Natural History and a member of that Expedition, studied the physical anthropology of the modern population, and has contributed to this book a chapter on the racial composition of the islanders.

126 All the legends and traditions that I collected were recorded in the Easter Island language. For reasons of economy, only a few examples of native text are published here. The original manuscripts are filed in the Library of Bishop Museum where they are available to students of Polynesian linguistics. These texts are accompanied by vocabularies and by additional chants.

confused many of the intervening names. Some of these names undoubtedly refer to *ariki* (chiefs or noblemen) famous as ancestors of lineages or remembered for some special deed in the past. 114
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There are many published lists of Easter Island kings, but all, except my own, are more or less faulty copies of the lists of Roussel, Jaussen, or Thomson. The first list of kings was recorded by Father Roussel (190, p. 358), probably in 1867 or 1868. This list was copied by Gana (86, p. 31) in 1870 and by De Lapelin (129, p. 103) in 1872. Various misspellings have crept into these two lists and several names have been run together as one. Gana includes three names not given by Roussel. Lesson (140, vol. 2, pp. 290-293) reproduces the lists of both Gana and De Lapelin with some unfortunate changes in spelling.

Bishop Jaussen's list of Easter Island kings was published posthumously in 1893, edited by Father Idlephonse Alazard. Jaussen probably obtained this list from an Easter Island native working for Brander in Tahiti. De Lapelin published what is undoubtedly a copy of this list as a footnote to his memoirs (129, p. 109, note). The orthography of this second list of De Lapelin appears to be the most correct of all the lists.

In 1886 Thomson transcribed from Salmon's data the longest list of kings that has been recorded. Unfortunately there are so many errors in spelling that it is difficult to use his list. A manuscript by W. D. Alexander in Bishop Museum, presumably copied from Thomson's original papers, reproduces his list with seemingly correct orthography.

In 1915 Routledge (194, p. 241) transcribed two independent lists, each containing 30 names. Neither of them has yet been published.

My own list of kings was dictated to me by the daughter of Ure-vaeiko, one of Thomson's informants. Besides native memory, my list is based on a fragmentary record that my friend Tepano had inscribed in a notebook many years ago. 173
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The following table gives all recorded names of Easter Island kings in the sequence in which they were recorded. Where misspelling is obvious, the names have been transcribed in their probable form based on rules of Polynesian phonetics. But wherever a change was doubtful, I retained the original spelling even though it was apparently incorrect. W. D. Alexander's manuscript version of Thomson's list is quoted here as being more accurate than the list appearing in Thomson's publication (215). Initials in parentheses, standing for Roussel, Jaussen, Thomson, and Métraux, following a name indicate duplication of that name in another list. Numbers following initials indicate sequence.

- 177 Today one's initial contact with Easter Island natives and their village of Hanga-roa creates the definite illusion that here acculturation toward a Chilean pattern approaches completion and it is only a question of the government's passing the necessary laws to give them the right to vote until final absorption will be well on its way. Such traits as European style frame or cement-walled houses with corrugated-tin roofs, the full acceptance of the riding aspect of horse culture, the occasional use of ox carts and ox-drawn plows, and the complete acceptance of European style clothing, including well polished shoes on Sunday, reflect a more rural Continental setting than a Polynesian-inhabited island in the Pacific. Contacting the Chilean officials, one soon meets their native aides: mechanics who can take a Jeep apart and put it together again; a machinist renowned for fixing the most delicate wrist watches on the island; a budding meteorologist who, for the past two years, has been one of the instrument observers at the Chilean Air Force meteorological station. These are, to be sure, extreme cases, often representing men who have been sent to Chile for advanced education or who have made a living on the continent for several years. However, they fit so well into the observed modification toward Chilean culture that their somewhat extreme positions in the acculturation pattern are not readily apparent. Certainly Easter Island, seen from an archaeologist's point of view, i.e., from the material culture evidence, presents a picture in 1956 of a dominantly Europeanized culture with a minor lag showing up in such things as the continued use of adzes, now made of steel, a customarily separate kitchen in the family architectural layout, a continued use of certain Polynesian foods, and a highly developed woodcarving tradition obviously kept alive by the products' salability to the tourists during their annual invasion of the island.
- 121 During the five month excavation season of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island, no time was available for an intensive study of Rapanui culture as it is today. However, through director Thor Heyerdahl's interest in aiding the islanders' economy by using them wherever possible, opportunity was made available to the archaeologists to gather ethnographic data. During my
- 115 excavation of various sites on the volcano of Rano Kao I employed four Easter
- 124 Islanders: Jorge Tepano, Roberto Tepano, Juan Atan, and Rafael Roe. These men, perforce, served as my informants, the periods of "interview" consisting of directed conversations while riding up the volcano to work, during the lunch hour, and again during the afternoon descent. These were occasionally supplemented by specific appointments, usually with Jorge Tepano, the most knowledgeable of the four. There was no time nor opportunity to cross-check my information with natives other than my four workers, so that the data presented below are

PRESENT-DAY EASTER ISLANDERS

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not as complete as they might be, and may tend to be weighted in that all four men were related in one way or another. However this paper, and one on trading techniques which I hope to publish at a future date, show quite clearly that advanced acculturation on the island is, for the most part, only material culture deep and has as yet penetrated only sporadically into the social organization of the people.

BIRTH

Except for a ceremony at the birth of a first child, there appears to be no regularized ritual for births as such. At the present moment an expectant mother either goes to the Naval-run hospital for delivery, or stays at home where her child is delivered with the aid of a midwife. I could learn of no pre-natal or post-parture taboos enforced on either the parents or the child. The rubbing of a fine red iron oxide powder into the baby's navel may have once had ceremonial significance but is now explained as merely an aid in the drying up of the umbilical cord.

It is apparently only the first child, especially a boy child, whose birth is fraught with a danger that must be assuaged by ceremony. Once the ceremony has been completed, however, a time for general celebration and feasting is immediately at hand.

Upon the occasion of the first birth to a married couple the father-in-law of the child's mother immediately prepares a small *umu*, i.e., a meal prepared in a pit oven, which is allowed to cook through the night. At the break of dawn on the following day the immediate families of both the child's parents open the *umu* but do not touch the inclosed food until the new mother has first partaken of it to "bring luck to her baby." After she has eaten this token meal, these relatives finish this initial *umu* and immediately begin preparations for a large *umu* feast for their friends and relatives in celebration of the birth. As with the inter-familial exchange of gifts at the time of a wedding, the respective families of the new parents each prepare their own *umu* and, upon its completion, present it to the opposite family, after which both meals are pooled for the general feasting of friends and relatives. Since such a feast may have to provide for a large portion of the population, each member of the extended family may be called upon to furnish a quantity of food in the form of chickens, eggs, *camotes* or sweet potatoes, etc. Even friends may be called upon and "if they have food beyond their needs they will give to the *umu*." Each friend or relative coming to the feast brings with him, or her, a small *umu* gift for the new mother. This usually consists of a small, wrapped bundle containing chicken or, perhaps, *camote*. It was never made

080 to whose ancestors it relates and who seemed to be doomed to speedy extinction.

During our stay at the island we were treated with every courtesy by Mr. Salmon, who placed every facility within his power at our disposal for the prosecution of our work, and I am indebted to him for much of the information embodied in this report.

123 Wednesday, December 29, was devoted to explorations in the vicinity of Valhu, to the collection of data, and taking of notes, and at 7 o'clock in the evening drove to Mr. Brander's house, near the village of Mataverí, having thus completed the tour of the coast line of the island. That evening, in company with Mr. Salmon, a visit was made to Chief Uro Vaeiko, 81 years old, for the purpose of having him interpret the hieroglyphic writings on the wooden tablets and photographs. This he did into the Rapa Nui language, the interpretation being taken down by Mr. Salmon, stretched at full length in the litter constituting the floor of the house, and subsequently translated into English by him. The latter, with the paymaster, was engaged with this work through the entire night, and at 10 o'clock next morning, the 30th, met the writer at Mr. Brander's house. A large portion of this day was devoted to visiting the villages, inspecting the houses, and making physical examinations. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon we returned to the house of Mr. Salmon, at Valhu, where a note from the ship was received urging our immediate return, as the image had been received on board and the *Mokiana* was to sail on the following day.

122 Another night was passed at the house of Mr. Salmon, and at 7 o'clock on the morning of December 31, our preparations being completed, we started on our return. The "buggy" was again brought into requisition and carried us as far as Rana Koraka, the road terminating at the corral at its base. Here we alighted, and the natives distributing and shouldering our implements, all hands except Mr. Salmon, who rode on horseback, struck out to cross the island on foot to La Perouse Bay. The distance was about 3 miles by the trail, which was rough and rocky but quite level, and was accomplished in an hour. On the way we passed our camp of December 23 and 24, "Whitney," where a party of native men and women had spent the preceding, and it is to be hoped a drier, night than we did under the overhanging rock.

We arrived at the landing in Hanga-one Bay, whence the image had been hauled off to the ship after having been brought a distance of 2½ miles overland on a sled, at about 9 o'clock in the morning, and in a little while thereafter returned on board after an absence from the ship of twelve days. At 3 o'clock the same afternoon, all financial matters having been concluded, and a number of sheep, the parting gifts of Messrs. Salmon and Brander, having been received on board, we bade farewell to our gentle Rapa Nui friends and steamed away for Valparaiso.

915 We found the natives who accompanied us bright, willing, tractable,

TE PITO TE HENUA OR EASTER ISLAND.

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 tireless, anxious to please, and ready at all times, day or night, to do our bidding. Two of them, Laka and Iluki, were especially useful to us. The latter was the more intelligent of the two, and was remarkably well informed regarding everything pertaining to the island. He knew the name of every point, headland, bay, etc., and his replies to our questions were given without hesitancy and so correctly, as we found by testing him, that he frequently surprised us. The writer obtained much information from him, and might have gained much more, regarding the native plants, insects, shells, etc., but unfortunately our interpreter, who had been but a short time on the island, was practically useless as a medium between us, and to understand each other's meaning was therefore most difficult. Owing to this fact, the want of facilities and conveniences for collecting and preserving specimens, and the absence of works of reference, but little could be accomplished in the particulars above mentioned.

A source of great annoyance to us during our trip was the hordes of flies which kept us company on the march, and then whenever we approached camp in the evening were greeted and cordially welcomed by other hordes which had been in previous possession of the locality. Many of the islands of the South Pacific are noted for the swarms of flies which infest them, one *Itaron*, having been named by the navigator Schouten, 1616, *Vliegen Islands* by reason of the myriads which assailed and finally drove him to sea.

Another, and in some respects even worse plague, was the fleas, which had their origin in the numerous dogs kept on the island. [231]

One more source of discomfort, in connection with our stay at the hospitable residence of Mr. Salmon, was the host of cockroaches which swarmed every part of the premises, measuring 2 or more inches in length, with antennae to correspond, and furnished with wings of a beautiful glistening brown.

TOPOGRAPHY.

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 From the most reliable information obtainable it appears that the ancient name of the island was *Te Pito te henua*. Referring to the vocabulary it will be seen that the word *Pito*, in *Itapa Nui* signifies *adect*, and *henua*, the *uteras*. What association of ideas could have prompted these appellations it is, of course, difficult to imagine at the present day. The following speculations, which have occurred to the writer, are given for what they may be worth. The island is distinctly of volcanic origin, and on nearly all the hills and mountains the craters are clearly traceable, most markedly and startlingly so in the case of *Itana Kuo*, at the southwest end. As will be seen, the craters of both volcanoes (all on the island are now extinct) are of great depth, with lakes of water at their bottoms. In the cases of the other volcanoes the craters are much more shallow, symmetrical, more evenly rounded, overgrown with grass, present a very striking and beautiful appear-

114 EASTER ISLAND in the South-East Pacific, remained in
195 its primitive state, save in so far as it was affected by the
visits of passing ships, till the year 1863. At that date
a large number of its most distinguished inhabitants were
carried away by Peruvian slave raiders or died from a
subsequent epidemic of small-pox; the following year the
first Christian missionary settled on the island; he was
rapidly followed by a series of European exploiters and
the old order passed. The information which follows

114 was obtained from the few surviving natives who
115 can remember their life in its earlier condition prior to
the above events. It is never easy to procure from
uneducated persons a straightforward and accurate state-
ment, even when the events in question are recent
and well within their knowledge, it is even harder
when some of the facts are forgotten or only vaguely
remembered, so that a speaker glides almost unconsciously
from what is known to what is merely conjectured; the
difficulty of research was in this case further augmented
through its being begun with preconceived ideas, obtained
from the brief allusions of earlier writers, which subse-
quently proved to be erroneous. The work was necessarily
a matter of time; it was not, for instance, till the Expedi-
tion had been a year on the island that the story trans-
pired of the bird-man's residence on Rano Raraku, though
once heard it was found to be well known. The whole
material available has not yet been examined and some
changes may be necessary; what is claimed is that the
evidence was very carefully obtained and weighed and
that the story as given is believed to be substantially
correct; but experience in field work here and elsewhere has
induced a firm conviction that accuracy in anthropo-
logical work is never more than a comparative term.
The account will be given first in general terms, and devi-
ations or exceptions subsequently noted. With regard to
the evidence at our disposal, information was obtained from

The Bird Cult of Easter Island. 339

some twelve different authorities, of whom four had been 114
bird-men, three had served as "hopu," and one had acted 115
in both capacities. We had camps at both Mataveri and
Rano Raraku, we visited Orongo more than twenty times
with different native escorts, and we were three times on
the islet of Motu Nui. The Expedition was over sixteen
months on the island.

Easter Island is renowned for its gigantic images, many 794
of which stood on the burial places round the coast and 798
were erected on the slopes of the mountain whence they
were hewn, while large numbers still remain in the quarries
in an unfinished state. The why and wherefore of these
things is lost in mist of antiquity. There is, however,
another and less known cult of the island which survived
till living memory; it is noteworthy for its own sake, and
it is doubly interesting if it can be proved to have had at
least some connection with the great statues: this is the
Bird Cult.

The population of Easter Island was divided into ten 794
clans or "mata," which are frequently spoken of in two 614
groups, those of Kotuu and those of Hotu-iti, districts 554
which may be simply if roughly identified with the Western
and Eastern portions of the island; legend tells of fierce
wars between the rival parties. The clan which was in
the ascendancy at any given time, or the "Mata-toa,"
had the right to obtain the first egg of a certain migratory
sea bird, but two or more clans are often found combining;
the members of other clans, or the Mata-kio, might be
present in the capacity of servants. The Mata-toa had
a claim on the Mata-kio for boat building and food planting
and "they were afraid to refuse." How this primary
position was originally attained it is not very easy to say,
presumably by superior strength; it might be held for one
year or for several in succession and was said to be passed
on at will to a favoured neighbour. The selection gave
rise at times to heartburning: it is told that a man of

STUDY OF THE AHU

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It was these burial-places, on which the images were then standing, which so strongly impressed the early voyagers and whose age and origin have remained an unsolved problem.

During the whole of our time on the island we worked on the ahu as way opened. Those which happened to lie near to either of our camps were naturally easy of access, but to reach the more distant ones, notably those on the north shore, involved a long expedition. Such a day began with perhaps an hour's ride; at noon there was an interval for luncheon, when, in hot weather, the neighbourhood was scoured for miles to find the smallest atom of shade; and the day ended with a journey home of not less than two hours, during which an anxious eye was kept on the sinking sun. The usual method, as each ahu was reached, was for S. to dismount, measure it and describe it; while I sat on my pony and scribbled down notes; but in some manner or other every part of the coast was by one or both of us ridden over several times, and a written statement made of the size, kind, condition, and name of each monument.

Unfortunately there is in existence no large-scale plan of the coast, a need we had to supply as best we could; map of Easter Island there is none, only the crude chart; the efforts of our own surveyor were limited, by the time at his disposal, to making detailed plans of a few of the principal spots. The want is to be regretted geographically, but it does not materially affect the archaeological result. We were always accompanied by native guides in order to learn local names and traditions, and it was soon found necessary to make a point of these being old men; owing to the concentration of the remains of the population in one district, all names elsewhere, except those of the most important places, are speedily being forgotten. The memories of even the older men were sometimes shaky, and to get reasonably complete and accurate information the whole of a district had, in more than one case, to be gone over again with a second ancient who turned out to have lived in the neighbourhood in his youth and hence to be a better authority.

Original Design and Construction of Image Ahu.—The burial-places are not all of one type, nor all constructed to carry statues; some also are known to have been built comparatively recently, and will therefore be described under a later section. The image ahu are, however, all prehistoric. They number just

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15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

FIG. 83.



HÉ.
Clan Marama.



VIRIAMO.
Clan Ureohci.



TE HAHA.
Clan Miru.



JUAN TEPANO.
Clan Tupahotu.

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[facing p. 212]

124 events on the island; it was very weird, but served its purpose, though there were initial difficulties. The heroine, for instance, was christened "Maria," but "there were," Parapina said, "three Marias on the island. Which was it?" and it was long before she grasped, if indeed she ever did so entirely, that the lady was imaginary. A certain sequence of events was somehow made intelligible to her. She was then induced to repeat the story, while it was taken down. It was copied out and next day read again to her for further correction. Every word and idea gained was a help in understanding local names and the native point of view. Before the end, in addition to using the language for the ordinary affairs of life, it was found possible to get simple answers direct from the old men, and understand first-hand much of what they said.

115 Any real success in intercourse was, however, due to the intelligence of one individual who was known as Juan Tepano. He was a younger man about forty years of age, a full-blooded Kanaka, but had served his time in the Chilean army, and thus had seen something of men and manners; he talked a little pidgin English, which was a help in the earlier stages, but before the end he and I were able to understand each other entirely in Kanaka, and he made clear to the old men anything I wished to know, and explained their answers to me. It was interesting to notice how his perception gradually grew of what truth and accuracy meant, and he finally assumed the attitude of watch-dog to prevent my being imposed on. Happily, it was discovered that he was able to draw, and he took great delight in this new-found power, which proved most useful. The tattoo designs were obtained, for example, by giving him a large sheet of paper with an outline of a man or woman, also a pencil and piece of candle; these he took down to the village, gathered the old men together in their huts in the evening, and brought up in the morning the figure adorned by the direction of the ancients (fig. 88). He took a real interest in the work, learning through the conversations much about the place which was new to him, and at the end of the time triumphantly stated, "Mam-ma now knows everything there is to know about the island."

128 It is proposed to unite the information gained from locality and memory, referring where necessary to the accounts of the early voyagers, and give as complete descriptions as possible

MARRIAGE

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to several in turn, finally returning to its own destination. We collected a certain number of genealogical trees, the various dramatis personae being for this purpose represented by matches or buttons. It was not a very popular line of research, the cry being apt to be raised, "Now let's talk of something interesting"; but some two hundred names were in this way placed in their family groups, with details of clan, place of residence and colour, and some knowledge obtained with regard to many more. It is not of course enough ground on which to found any theory, but it was very useful in checking information gathered in other ways. Only in one case was it possible to get back beyond the great-grandfather of our informant, but the knowledge of family connections was often greater than would be found among Europeans. The number of childless marriages was striking. 5DD
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The early story of Viriamo (fig. 83) the oldest woman living in our day, gives a picture of this primitive state of things. She belonged to the clan of Ureohei, and her family had lived for some generations, as far back as could be remembered, on the edge of the eastern volcano, not far from Raraku. The great-grandfather, who was dark, had as his only wife a white woman of the Hamea. Their son was white, and had two wives, one of the Tupahotu and one of the Ngaure. By the first, although she also was white, he had a dark son who married a white wife of his own clan, Ureohei, but of a different group. Viriamo was the second of their eight children, all of whom were white save herself and her eldest brother. Four of the girls died young in the epidemic of smallpox in 1864. Viriamo and two of her sisters were initiated as children into the bird rite.¹ When older she was tattooed with rings round her forehead and with the dark-blue breeches. Somewhat later, but still as a young woman, she went over to Anakena and had her ears pierced, but she never had the lobe extended, preferring to let it remain small. When asked about her marriage, she bridled as coyly as a young girl. Her first union was a matter of arrangement, the husband, who was also of the Ureohei, giving her father much food, and, if she had refused to accept the situation, she would, she said, have been beaten. There was no ceremony of any kind, no new clothes nor feasting; her father simply took her to her new home and handed her over. The house was near the two statues with [163]
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[585]
[584]

¹ See below, pp. 366-68.

- 115 the projecting noses, excavated on the south-eastern slope of Raraku (fig. 73) and, when she wanted water, rather than cross the boundary and go round to the lake by the gap, through the hostile dwellers on the western side, she used to clamber with her vessel up the boundary rift in the cliff face. There was one [586] white child, who died young, but her marriage was not a success, and Viriamo left the man and went off to live with one of the Miru clan at Anakena. His house already contained a wife and family, also four brothers, but they all got on quite happily together. [592] She had five children by this man, who, like their father, [595] were all white; four of them, however, died in infancy. This was the result of the parents having most unfortunately fallen foul [754] of an old man, whose cloak had been taken without his consent, and who had accordingly prophesied disaster. The remaining child, a daughter, was living and unmarried when we were on the island. The last husband was the most satisfactory of the three; he was a Tupahotu living near Tongariki. She was handed over to him as a matter of family arrangement, in discharge of a debt, but she was quite amenable to the exchange, and was very fond of him. He was light in colour, but her only child by this marriage, our friend Juan, was dark, taking, as he said, "after my mam-ma."

- 593 The women do not seem, judging by existing remains, to have had always a happy time. Dr. Keith, who examined the skulls collected by the Expedition, concludes his report on one of the female specimens as follows: "The most likely explanation is that the indent of the left temple was the cause of death, produced by the blow of a club, and that the suppuration and repair of the right side has been also produced by a former blow which failed to prove fatal. Two other skulls, also those of women, show indented fractures in the left temporal region."

- 764 Any deficiency at marriages, in the way of social festivity, was made up at funerals. These were attended by persons from [602] all over the island, for "when they were not fighting, they were all cousins." In answer to the remark that "considering the population their whole time must have gone in this way," it was cheerfully observed that "they had nothing else to do, so they all went, everybody took food and everybody ate." The parents of one of our friends, Kapiera, lived at Anakena, but he was born on the south side of the island near Vaihu "when his